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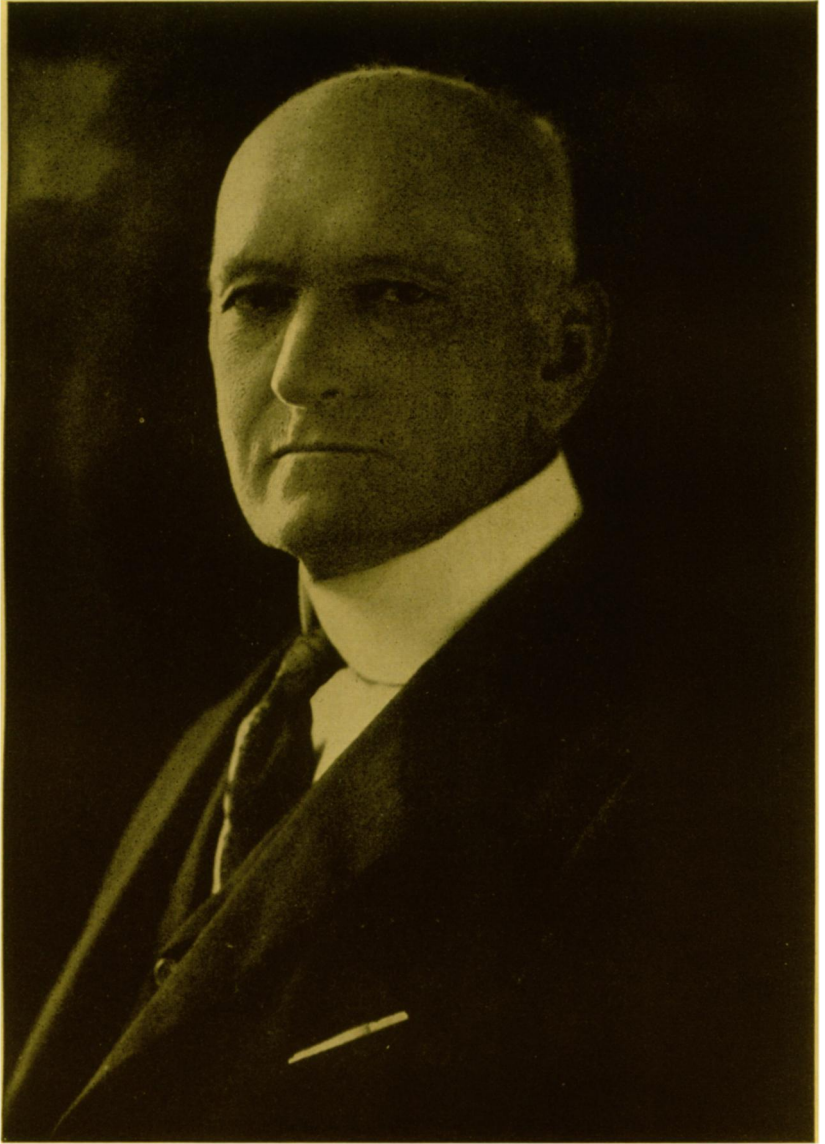
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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

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THE PRESIDENT AT SEA

BY THE EDITOR

“ Does this Administration mean business or is it only talking in its sleep? ”

That is the pregnant question which we propounded in the January number of this REVIEW and which still awaits a decisive answer.

Garrison goes; Daniels stays.

Garrison was and is an earnest advocate of measures providing adequate National Defense; Daniels is not and never was.

Where stands the President?

Addressing the Congress fourteen months ago, four months after the beginning of the great war, the President said impatiently, sneeringly, sarcastically:

The subject is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some among us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspect because the times are not normal * * * Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense.

One year later he urged the Congress to increase the Navy and, upon recommendation of the Secretary of War and the General Staff, to strengthen the regular army and to create a new National reserve force of no less than four hundred thousand men.

Why this *volte-face*? The President himself explained in these words spoken in New York on January 27th:

Perhaps when you learned, as I dare say you did learn beforehand, that I was expecting to address you on the subject of preparedness you recalled the address which I made to Congress something more than a year ago, in which I said that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question. But more than a year has gone by since then, and I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in fourteen months. The minute I stop changing my mind as President with the change of all the circumstances in the world I will be a back number.

While refraining from depicting the precise change of circumstances which had taken place, he presented the following illustration of reversal of opinion:

There is another thing about which I have changed my mind. A year ago I was not in favor of a tariff board. And I will tell you why: Because then the only purpose of a tariff board was to keep alive an unprofitable controversy. If you set up any board of inquiry whose purpose it is to keep business disturbed and to make it always an open question what you are going to do about the public policy of the Government I am opposed to it. And the very men who were dinning it into our ears that what business wanted was to be let alone were many of them men who were insisting that we should start up a controversy that meant that we could not let it alone. There is a great deal more opinion vocal in this world than is consistent with logic.

Whether or not the President meant to recall or to ignore his declaration at Indianapolis on January 8th, 1915, is not quite clear. He then said:

If by scientific treatment of the tariff they [the Republicans] mean adjustment to the actual trade conditions of America and the world, then I am with them.

And I want to call their attention, as they apparently have not noticed it, that the bill which creates the new Trade Commission does that very thing.

That commission is authorized and empowered to enter into and report to Congress not only upon the conditions of trade in this country but upon the conditions of trade, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—all the things that enter into the question of the tariff—in foreign countries as well as the United States and into all those questions of varied combinations which affect international trade between Europe and the United States.

It has full powers which will guide Congress in the scientific treatment of questions of international trade.

Being by profession a schoolmaster, I am glad to point that out to a class of uninstructed Republicans, though I have not always taught in the primary grades.

It was a good joke on the sleepy Republicans and everybody laughed, never dreaming, of course, that later, as now seems to be the case, the "opinion" then expressed might drop gently into the category of those that are "vocal rather than consistent with logic" or even with fact.

But this was by the way. Continuing before his New York audience, the President elucidated his programme of Preparedness with notable explicitness. He appreciated the National Guard and believed it should receive encouragement and aid, but he feared that, under the Constitution, there was "no way in which that force can be made a direct resource as a National reserve under National authority." Therefore, he continued:

What we need is a body of men trained in association with units of the army. A body of men organized under the immediate direction of the national authorities. A body of men subject to the immediate call to arms of the national authorities; and yet men not put into the ranks of the regular army; men left to their tasks of civil life; men supplied with equipment and training, but not drawn from the peaceful pursuits which have made America great and must keep her great.

He added most significantly:

I am not a partisan of any one plan. I have had too much experience to think that it is right to say that the plan which I proposed is the only plan that will work, because I have a shrewd suspicion that there may be other plans which will work. But what I am for, and what every American ought to insist upon, is a body of at least half a million trained citizens who will serve under conditions of danger as an immediate available national reserve.

Far be it from us, as between friends, to attempt to distinguish between hedging and maintaining an "open mind," but the fact seems to be that then and there, rightfully or wrongfully, wisely or foolishly, consistently or inconsistently, loyally or disloyally, the President served public notice upon the Secretary of War that he did not regard his committal to the plan which he had proposed to the Congress, upon the Secretary's recommendation, as either final or binding. This attitude, to the best of our information, he maintained scrupulously, by the nebulous process, while

“ taking counsel ” with the toiling thinkers of the prairies.

Mr. Garrison resigned, of course; though not, as has been remarked, either impulsively or hurriedly. As early as January 14th, he had addressed to the President these pointed words:

Those who are conscientiously convinced that nothing but national forces can properly be the basis of a policy of national defense, cannot possibly accept a policy based upon State forces. It not only does not in itself offer an acceptable solution, but acts to prevent any proper solution.

If those who are thus convinced are faced with the necessity of declaring their position on the matter, they can only show their sincerity and good faith by declining to admit the possibility of compromise with respect to this essential fundamental principle.

I am thus convinced.

I feel that we are challenged by the existing situation to declare ourselves promptly, openly, and unequivocally, or be charged properly with lack of sincerity and good faith.

In a word, the judicial mind, unversed in the agilities of political ratiocination, given an admitted premise, could reach but one conclusion. Nevertheless, it was not until February 10th, when the President politely but firmly and formally enjoined him thereafter to “ be kind enough to draw very carefully the distinction between your own individual views and the views of the Administration,” that the Secretary felt impelled to appear no longer as the “ seeming representative ” of his chief. The propriety, even the necessity, of his action is beyond question. Convinced as he was that “ forty-eight little armies ” would be utterly helpless in a war such as the President had just been solemnly warning the country might be forced upon it over night, he could not have remained at the head of the War Department without becoming a virtual traitor to both his convictions and the Nation which he had sworn to serve and protect.

While deploring, in common with the entire Press and apparently all the people, the withdrawal from the Cabinet of its most competent and vigorous member, we cannot but feel that by clarifying the atmosphere it may make distinct an issue which might otherwise have been obscured. Now, as never before and as never could have been possible while Mr. Garrison and Mr. Breckinridge continued to hold the grateful sympathy of an apprehensive people, will President

Wilson and the Democratic Congress be held to a strict accountability for real preparedness. As the President truly and somewhat sternly said in his speech in New York:

There is only one way that parties and individuals win the confidence of this nation, and that is to do the things that ought to be done. Nobody is going to be deceived. Speeches are not going to win elections. The facts are going to speak for themselves, and speak louder than anybody who controverts them. No political party, no group of men can ever disappoint America. This is a year of political accounting and the Americans in politics are rather expert accountants. They know what the books contain and they are not going to be deceived by it. No man is going to hide behind any excuses. The goods must be delivered or the confidence will not be enjoyed, and for my part I hope every man in public life will get what is coming to him.

Words more fitly spoken or more timely as of the moment we cannot recall.

Parenthetically, we may remark that the retirement of Secretary Garrison was delicately foreshadowed in this REVIEW in October last when, after noting the sudden appearance at the White House of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard in the capacity of unintimate adviser, we thoughtfully continued:

We turn logically then from mere rumors to Mr. Villard's own self-authorized utterances over the signature "O. G. V." in the *Evening Post*. And the very first headline we chance upon is, of all things imaginable, "Rumors of Changes in Wilson's Cabinet." The member chiefly concerned is not, as some might hope, Josephus, but Mr. Garrison, who is coming to be known, somewhat to the rasping, we suspect, of Mr. Villard's tranquillizing sensibilities, as the "War Secretary." To the best of our information nobody, prior to the publication of this article, had suggested so much as a possibility of Mr. Garrison retiring from the Cabinet,—and Mr. Villard, of course, does not reveal the source of his inspiration. That some persons might be inquisitive along this line is readily imagined, but for ourselves we should regard undue insistence, in the delicate circumstances now existing and while the tension between Messrs. House and Villard continues unresolved, as the height of impropriety. Moreover, that which interests us most in O. G. V.'s speculation is the cleverness of its presentation and the subtlety of its suggestion. Mr. Villard's great and good friend, the Count von Bernstorff himself, could hardly have done better.

After noting that "so far the Secretary has shown no disposition to look with favor upon the proposal [whose proposal?] that

he run either for Governor or Senator," Mr. Villard shrewdly observes:

But a man who has made a popular success like Secretary Garrison cannot always control his future. Politicians, too, have a way of devising ingenious snares. Thus, what will the Secretary say next year if it is represented to him that the President must carry his own State, that the Secretary only can carry it, and that it is the Secretary's loyal duty to the party which made him and gave him his great opportunity here to enter the lists?

The inaptness of an intimation that the President may not be able to carry his own State, even with the efficient aid, recently pledged, of the Honorable James Smith, Jr., is so obvious that an inference of underlying purpose is unescapable. And listen further:

What would he say if there is held out to him, in addition, the bait of an appointment to the United States Supreme Court in case he is defeated and the opportunity offers? Will he be beyond the flattery of the suggestion that in 1920 the party will be looking for a new national leader; and that the easiest way to the Presidency is to be a successful Governor of New Jersey, as President Wilson showed?

It was ever thus. "Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; again, moreover, to no avail, since the Secretary promptly bade the Tempter through the public prints to get behind him. Nevertheless, the seed is sown and *we shall await the harvest of the coming session with more than casual interest.*

And by a circuitous route the reaper came.*

While understanding and sympathizing with the reluctance of the President to become a back number, we must not overlook other, though perhaps less important, reasons for changing his mind with respect to Preparedness. These appear and disappear with extraordinary rapidity in his speeches to his bucolic counsellors. It was a kind of running debate designed apparently to win the approval of both sides. Speaking on the affirmative at various times the President said:

We are daily treading among the most intricate dangers.

No man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth.

New circumstances have arisen which make it necessary for America to defend herself.

We have interests that are being slowly drawn into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval.

* By wireless via Sayville to His Excellency, Ambassador James W. Gerard, Berlin: Fail not to heed the words of the prophet to the [also] sick and sore Hezekiah: "Keep thine *House* in order!"

There may at any moment come a time when I cannot preserve both the peace and honor of the United States.

Let me tell you very solemnly that you cannot afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth.

Apparently the law that governs the relations of nations with one another must at times fall silent and look on in dumb impotence.

Do you want the situation to be such that all that the President can do is to write messages, to utter words of protest? If these breaches of international law which are in daily danger of occurring should touch the very vital interests and honor of the United States, do you wish to do nothing about it? Do you wish to have all the world say that the flag of the United States which we love can be stained with impunity?

On the negative:

There is no sudden crisis. Nothing new has happened. I am not upon this errand because of any unexpected situation. I have come to confer with you upon a matter upon which it would in any circumstances be necessary for us to confer, when all the rest of the world is on fire and our own house is not fireproof.

Nobody seriously supposes, gentlemen, that the United States need fear an invasion of its own territory.

I have not come here to tell you of any immediate threat of definite danger, because, by very great patience, by making our position perfectly clear, and then steadfastly maintaining the same attitude through our great controversies, we have so far held difficulty at arm's length.

America was born into the world to do mankind's service, and no man is an American in whom the desire to do mankind's service does not take precedence over the desire to serve himself. If I believe that the might of America was any threat to any free man in the world I would wish America to be weak. But I believe that the might of America is the might of righteous purpose and of a sincere love for the freedom of mankind.

There was more to the same effect, but upon the whole the eyes seem to have it. Although "nothing new has happened" and there is "no fear of invasion," nevertheless since "new circumstances have arisen" and "we are daily treading among the most intricate dangers," a careful weighing of the evidence seems convincing that the President thinks something ought to be done by way of National Defense.

But what? While steadfastly maintaining "an open mind as to details," the President was gratifyingly explicit

on more than one occasion respecting the army. Again he declared, as in New York on January 27th:

I want the Congress of the United States to do a great deal for the National Guard, but I do not see how the Congress of the United States can put the National Guard at the disposal of the nation; therefore, it seems absolutely necessary that in addition to the National Guard there should be a considerable body of men of some military training who are willing to pledge themselves to come at the call of the nation.

What we wish is a definite citizen reserve of men trained to arms to a sufficient extent to make them quickly transformable into a fighting force organized under the immediate direction of the United States, subject to a definite pledge to serve the United States and pledged to obey immediately the call of the President when Congress authorizes him to call them to arms.

The National Guard is a body of State troops and not a body of national reserves; because the Constitution makes them so, no matter whether we now think those are the best arrangements or not.

We must lay down a programme and then steadfastly carry it out and complete it. There are no novelties about the programme, all the lines of it are the lines already established, only drawn out to their legitimate conclusion, and drawn out so that they will be completed within a calculable length of time.

The plans now laid before the Congress of the United States are merely plans not to throw the life of American youth away. *Those plans are going to be adopted.*

Not at any time nor in any way, by tongue or pen, has Mr. Garrison himself set forth more succinctly that which he had come to regard as the "fundamental principle" of National Defense and which the President had "laid before the Congress of the United States" as his own, adding as "firmly" as when calling Germany to account for assassination, "So much by way of preparation for defense seems to me absolutely imperative now; we can do no less." True, he had already, on January 17th, as appears from the correspondence since published, in the course of "a delightfully frank conference" with Mr. Hay, expressed a willingness to consider the militia scheme and, on February 10th, reiterated that he felt "in duty bound" to keep his mind "open to conviction on that side," but again we are constrained to adjudge that, upon the evidences accurately balanced, the ayes have it and that the President still regards the Constitutional inhibition as fatal to the efficiency, as a National force, of the forty-eight little armies. Such, at any rate,

despite the obvious guesswork involved in the conclusion, is our tentative vocal opinion.

As to the navy, we are not so sure. We are informed, to begin with, that its actual strength "ranks fourth, not second," as we had been led by Mr. Daniels to believe, and that consequently "everything should be done that it is possible for us to do to bring the navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency." Herein the President differed from the Secretary of the Navy who, in his annual report for 1914, "coveted the honor of initiating for America a movement which will make possible a reduction of fighting craft," but so far has discovered no such difference in "fundamental principle" as seems likely to induce his resignation.

The past at least is secure. "You are told," said the President, "that there has been some sort of neglect about the navy. *There has not been any sort of neglect about the navy.*" Later, however, he added:

The vessels we have are manned by experts; there is not a better service in the world than that of the American navy; but no matter how skilled and capable the officers or devoted the men, they must have ships enough, and we are going to give them ships enough. *We have been doing it slowly and leisurely and good naturedly,* as we are accustomed to do everything in times of peace, but now we must get down to business and do it systematically.

What we are proposing now is not the sudden creation of a navy, for we have a splendid navy, but the definite working out of a programme by which, within five years, we will bring the navy to a fighting strength which otherwise might have taken eight or ten years along exactly the same lines of development that may have been followed and followed diligently and intelligently for at least a decade past.

There is no sudden panic; there is no sudden change of plans. All that has happened is that we now see that we ought more rapidly and more thoroughly than ever before to do the things which have always been characteristic of America, for she has always been proud of her navy, and has been addicted to the principle that her citizenship must do the fighting on land.

But, ladies and gentlemen, do not forget that that is not all there is to this problem. Suppose that I knew that, back of the insistence of the United States upon its rights, was a great navy that ranked first in the world and a body of men trained to arms adequate at any rate to fend off any initial disaster to the United States while we were making an army ready. That would be only the beginning.

There is no other navy in the world that has to cover so great an

area of defense as the American navy, and *it ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the greatest navy in the world.*

Whether the President, in putting forth this amazing proposal, as the *World* apologetically intimates, was carried away by what Disraeli was wont to describe as "the exuberance of his own verbosity" or, as the *Sun* shrewdly observes, he was aiming to please German sympathizers by hinting at a purpose to wrest from England her sea power, we do not like to ask. We prefer to believe that he did not mean what he said,—and to let it go at that. The best we can make of it all is that the President blesses Josephus, very much as he blessed Mr. Bryan at the parting of their respective ways, and favors the building of more ships.

Whether or not we have succeeded in our patient endeavor to deduce from this mass of contradictions the President's actual attitude towards Preparedness will soon be determined beyond the possibility of doubt by his acts. The real question, bearing directly and powerfully upon both the forthcoming election and the pressing need of the Nation, is, we regret to say, one of sincerity. We gladly make generous allowance for the inconsistencies which so often characterize extemporaneous speaking. We recognize the difficulty of putting the most admirable of theories into practical operation. We appreciate the indispensability of compromise in building legislation. We have only contempt for that sheer obduracy which Emerson aptly designated as the hobgoblin of little minds. We rejoiced at the President's reversal of his position on National Defense.

But is his conversion complete? Is it permanent? Is it genuine? Is its genesis conviction or expediency? Those are questions which one would hesitate to raise in ordinary times, but these are not ordinary times. Mr. Wilson himself bears testimony from his own intimate knowledge that they are full of peril to the Nation. It was upon that assumption, we were told, that he went forth to arouse his countrymen to appreciation of their imminent danger. Over and over again he declared that his purpose was patriotic, not political. And yet no sooner is his tour completed than his partisans, headed by his chief newspaper organ, joyously acclaim his triumph—in what? In winning votes for Preparedness from recalcitrant members of Congress? Apparently not an additional one was secured. No; his success

lay in achieving personal popularity for himself and his family, in "capturing the public," in "discounting Bryan," in "spiking Roosevelt's guns," etc., etc.

Meanwhile, his own Secretary of War was gravely warning him that desertion of their common cause, involving repudiation of a fundamental principle definitely espoused, would constitute a breach of "*good faith*" and "*sincerity*,"—and when his suspicions were confirmed not only the Secretary himself but his equally high-minded associate refused to serve longer. Surely these are disquieting symptoms which, in the face of National peril and upon the eve of a National election held to fix National authority for the next four years, cannot be ignored.

Even more significant and disturbing to our mind is the retention as the head of the great Navy Department of a pottering country politician under whose administration the navy, according to the President himself, has fallen from second to fourth place, whose stupidity at this moment is delaying the mere *beginning* of the dreadnoughts authorized *two and a half years*, whose chief present boast is of his economy in reducing the allowance for *ammunition* \$12,000,000, without even consulting the Board of Ordnance which had called for it as a necessity, whose suppression and mutilation of official reports have kept the truth from the people, whose treatment of competent and faithful officers is a reproach to the country, whose fad is *disarmament* and whose god is *Bryan*.

Garrison goes; Daniels stays.

What are we to think?

"A vote for Wilson, a vote for Daniels"—Daniels for four more years as guardian of our first line of defense!

What are we to do? What *can* we do if confronted by that dread proposition?

"I shall not discuss the navy tonight," said the President pleasantly in his New York speech, "because I don't want to go to sea."

But is he not "at sea"?

If he thinks not and would have others think not, we implore him, for the sake of all whom he would serve, himself, his party, his country and his God, to take his frost-bitten ear off the ground and stand up and *lead*, as Garrison begged, to trample his pride under foot and *fight*, if need be, like a man—like the man he used to be.

ON REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

THE preliminary campaign for the election of a President of the United States will be inaugurated on March 7th, when the partisan voters of Indiana will assemble at their respective primaries and choose delegates to the forthcoming National conventions. The Democrats will designate representatives favorable to the renomination of President Wilson and the Republicans will name advocates of the nomination of the Honorable Charles W. Fairbanks. New Hampshire will elect delegates on March 11th, Minnesota on March 14th and North Dakota on March 21st and eight more commonwealths, including the great States of New York and Illinois, will take like action during the month of April. The climax of the preliminary campaign will be reached on June 7th, the date fixed for both Republican and Progressive conventions in Chicago, two weeks precedent to the assured renomination by the Democratic party at St. Louis of President Wilson.

The ensuing struggle for ascendancy will not only involve issues of greater import to the Nation and the people than at any time since 1860 but also, we fear, may be characterized by bitterness and passion such as has not been witnessed since the days of Andrew Jackson. It is but natural and probably inevitable that the aroused temper of a warring world should be reflected in the course of an election more distinctively international in character and effect than any other ever held in the United States.

The most striking circumstance bearing upon the quite tentative situation now existing is the complete confidence of all most intimately concerned. Those charged by the President with responsibility for continuance of the Democratic party in power are firmly convinced in both mind and heart that nothing less than abrupt termination of the war can imperil Mr. Wilson's chance of re-election. Peace and Prosperity, supplemented by appropriated Preparedness, they regard as an irresistible slogan,—and there is much in history to justify their faith in the reluctance of the American people to swap horses or even donkeys while crossing a stream.

The leaders of the opposition, on the other hand, feel no less certain that only a fair measure of unity is requisite to success, while full amalgamation would effect an over-

whelming triumph. This predication is based upon the fact that, if the votes cast for Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft in 1912 had been combined, Mr. Wilson would have lost at the polls by 1,311,544 and would have received in the Electoral College only 152 ballots against 379. This, too, may be regarded as reassuring by those who for one reason or another are dissatisfied with the conduct of the present Administration.

For ourselves, in view of the unprecedented condition of affairs now existing and of unforeseeable happenings that may take place, we perceive but little basis for confidence in either hypothesis. It is quite clear to our mind that neither the partisan "ins" nor the partisan "outs" have sufficient numerical strength to win beyond peradventure. And if, as we suspect, the result will be determined finally by the increasingly large body of patriotic citizens who, especially in a time like this, place their country far above party or prejudice, the fact is more than gratifying; it is alive with promise for democracy at the very instant when monarchism as a more efficient machine seems most threatening to what we of America have come to regard as civilization.

We may not forecast, then, at this early stage; but we may speculate, possibly to advantage, with respect at least to the preliminaries of the momentous contest which so soon is to absorb our minds, our energies and our patriotic fervor.

One severely practical question arises immediately: Can the elements comprising the Opposition be united effectively? And the answer, in so far as paramount issues are concerned, is unhesitatingly affirmative. The sharp line of demarcation between Republicans and Progressives drawn by Mr. Roosevelt in his famous Columbus declaration has been blotted out by its author. While not admitting definite and final abandonment of the radical proposals then enunciated, Our Colonel now not only concedes but insists that they be set aside as of minor importance in the face of more pressing problems. It may be assumed safely, moreover, that with the exception of a negligible number of sentimentalists represented by Miss Jane Addams, the Progressive rank and file are in accord with their leader. Indeed, so many have already returned to the Republican fold, as indicated by the various bye-elections, that probably not

more than one-fourth or at the most one-third of the four millions of the recalcitrants of 1912 remain unaccounted for.

Meanwhile, the chiefs of the Republican party seem to have learned their lesson. Mr. Aldrich, the most powerful and most incorrigible of the reactionaries, is dead, Mr. William Barnes has stepped aside, Mr. Penrose no longer scoffs at the Progressive sentiment of his State, Mr. Taft's animosity does not go beyond Mr. Roosevelt,—and Mr. Elihu Root, who thrilled the country with his eloquently liberal speech at Albany, and Mr. Murray Crane, who redeemed Massachusetts by demanding the election as Governor of a man renowned for his independence, stand forth as the broader-minded, more enlightened and more tolerant leaders of the old organization. Agreement upon a statement of principles under such conditions is readily attained.

The one problem that confronts the Opposition is that which, somewhat oddly, does not affect or even concern the party in power, namely, the selection of candidates. And this task, since no Progressive except Mr. Roosevelt is mentioned in connection with the Presidency, narrows in turn to the Republican party. Can a ticket be constructed, along with a platform, that will serve the two essential purposes of eliminating the possibility of a third menacing candidacy and of winning the support of those independent citizens whose action may prove to be decisive? That is the question, the very interesting question in a political sense and the very vital question as it affects the future of the Nation, that must be answered at Chicago three months from this very week.

The solution, although far from easy, is rendered less difficult by the certainty respecting the outcome of the Democratic convention. The Opposition already knows precisely what and whom it will have to face before the great popular tribunal. So completely has the President possessed his party, it will be in fact Wilson, that's all,—Wilson, his record; Wilson, his foreign policy; Wilson, his Mexico; Wilson, his diplomacy; Wilson, his Congress; Wilson, his party; Wilson, himself, no more like Jefferson than like Cleveland, but more agile than Van Buren, more canny than Tilden, more daring than Jackson. However the balance may be struck when the time shall come to weigh the good against the ill of the present Administration, there is and can be no question of either the intellectual or the

wilful supremacy within his party of the Democratic candidate.

This fact, no less than the unexampled condition of public and more particularly international affairs, calls for discrimination on the part of the Opposition not unlike that of the colored preacher who, at the time of the Charleston earthquake, implored his Maker to "Come and help us, and come yo'self, o Lord; don't send yo' Son; this ain't no work for boys!" Time was when a Rutherford B. Hayes could be elected or at least inaugurated President by the Republican party,—but not now, when the world is aflame and the country is aroused to the need of its best brain and fullest experience at the helm, not merely for performance at home but for the influence of an international reputation abroad. With all due respect, then, for the many excellent qualifications of Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Weeks, Mr. Smith, Mr. Estabrook, Mr. Brumbaugh, Mr. Hadley and of all other favorite sons or sons-in-law whose aspirations may have escaped our attention, we pass unhesitatingly on to Mr. Cummins, who is lamentably weak east of the Alleghenies and to Mr. Burton, a man of parts but wholly of negation and consequently quite out of the question as the rival of a personality so vividly affirmative as Woodrow Wilson.

That Mr. Justice Hughes could obtain the nomination we have no doubt; that he would be elected is a common belief in which we do not unreservedly share; that he should not and will not become the candidate we are confident. There might—indeed, there may—come a time when the services of some particular one of the five million individuals qualified might be required as President, or temporarily even as Dictator, to save the Nation. Such a condition or something approaching it, we fear, exists in England today, and if the like obtained in our own country we should not blanch at the desperate remedy. But no peril of so great imminence now confronts us and, if there did, there is no ground for belief that Mr. Justice Hughes's qualifications to meet it, as compared with those of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt or of many others, are pre-eminent. The only conceivable reason for forcing the nomination upon him would be "to beat Wilson" and to gather the offices into the Republican basket. His acceptance of such a nomination, unanimous or not, thus ignobly made, would constitute a flat betrayal of trust, as interpreted from his own reiter-

ated declarations. While wishing earnestly that Mr. Justice Hughes might see his way clear to say simply, with General Sherman, "If nominated, I will not accept and if elected I will not serve," so far from questioning his sincerity, we consider it a virtual, though perhaps a necessary, impertinence to even mention his name in connection with the Presidency at this time.

There remain Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Borah and Mr. McCall,—equipped for the filling of the requirements enumerated in the order named. Governor McCall's strong grasp upon public questions, his profundity as a scholar, his breadth of vision and his sturdy independence, no less than his long service in Congress and his demonstrated ability to win Progressive votes, clearly establish his availability. Senator Borah stands easily at the head of the younger statesmen developed within the Republican party, as second, in intellectual capacity, only to Mr. Root, and in strength of purpose, in fidelity to American ideals, in liberal thought and in oratorical power as second to none. If Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt must be set aside upon grounds of expediency, as a consequence of the antagonism engendered by the bitter contest of 1912, Borah and McCall or McCall and Borah, as determined by considerations respecting the West or the East as the chief battleground, would make the most effective appeal to the entire Opposition. But neither the Governor of Massachusetts nor the Senator from Idaho has profited from the great experience in international affairs of the former Secretary of State or the former President and in a comparative sense both are practically unknown in foreign capitals.

All resolves, then to the two questions: Would the three and a half millions of regular Republicans who voted for Mr. Taft condone the offense of Mr. Roosevelt? and Would the million and a half of remaining Progressives forgive Mr. Root for his part in the proceedings at Chicago? That Mr. Root personally would support Mr. Roosevelt we are certain. That Mr. Roosevelt would support Mr. Root we have good reason to believe. If anyone is qualified to speak with surety for their respective followers, he is not within the range of our acquaintance.

While to our mind the Republican party would stamp itself a coward by refusing, at this crucial time, to nominate for President Elihu Root, the foremost statesman now

living in this country or in the world, we fully recognize the strength in union. Despite the fact that he overshadows all others combined, President Wilson cannot be the sole factor on the Democratic side. Linked with him inevitably and most conspicuously will be Colonel Edward M. House, maker of Cabinets, confidential adviser and Ambassador-at-large in full charge, without official responsibility, of foreign affairs, and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, who hangs like a millstone about the neck of his patient but apparently helpless patron. Against this Democratic trio, either of two combinations would seem to be more effective than any other that could be devised, to wit:

I

For President,
ELIHU ROOT

For Vice-President,
WILLIAM E. BORAH

For Secretary of State,
HENRY CABOT LODGE

For Senator from New York,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

For Senator from Massachusetts,
SAMUEL W. MCCALL

Great courage in grave times is good politics!

II

For President,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

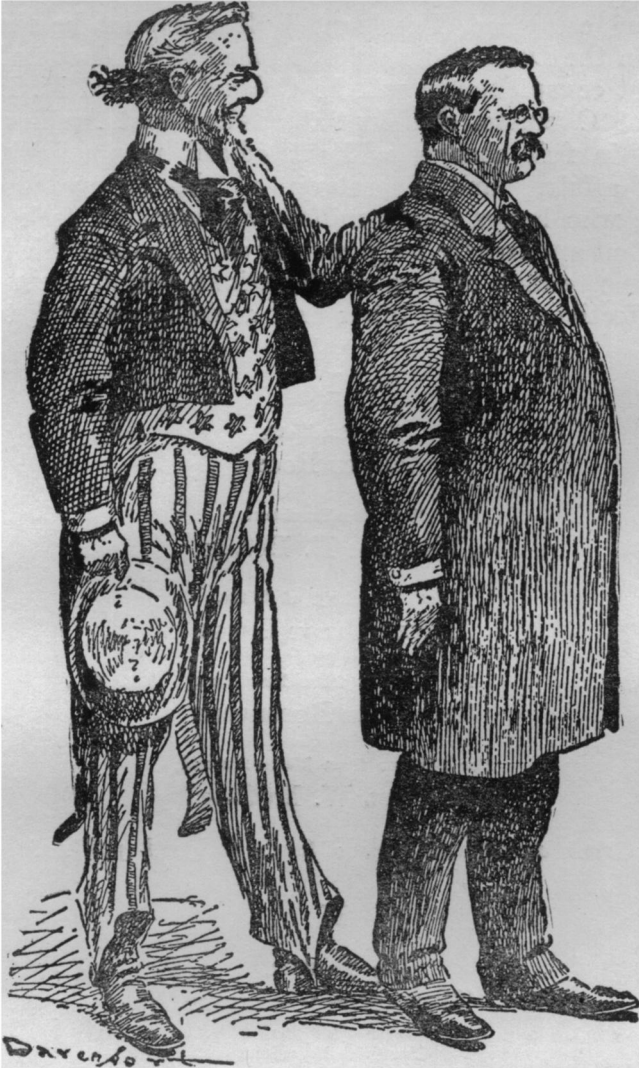
For Vice-President,
WILLIAM E. BORAH

For Secretary of State,
ELIHU ROOT

For Governor of Massachusetts,
SAMUEL W. MCCALL

“Nec sibi, sed toti gentium se credere mundo!”

From the New York Evening Mail—1908.



1904 U. S.:—"He's Good Enough for Me!"

The most bewildering of the many applications of Homer Davenport's famous cartoon we have ever seen, appears in a paper called *Harper's Weekly*, as presented herewith. Our Colonel himself remarks with a grin that it "most emphatically shows an Uncle Sam who would *not* like to have

From Harper's Weekly—1916



1916 T. R.—“He’s Good Enough for Me!”

me behind him,”—which we suspect is correct. May it not be possible that, in a busy moment, Brother Hapgood got the wrong man behind that particular conception of our venerable Uncle?

DOES PREPAREDNESS MEAN MILITARISM?

PROPHECY may be past. Prevision is not. There are men still able to judge the future by the past. There are those still who are sufficiently prudent and foresighted to make preparation for the exigencies which experience teaches us to expect. The words of Washington, Hamilton and their contemporaries, concerning the necessity of military strength, have been cited a thousand times. But such counsels did not die with them. In our own time we have had equally clear sighted men who have continued that same service of admonition and exhortation. Thus only a score of years ago it was said:

It is idle to say that the rules of international law are more humane, or that they are better understood, or that they are better protected by treaties, than they were a hundred years ago. The rights of neutrals have depended in the past, and will depend in the future, in every life and death struggle between nations, whatever treaties may say, upon the exigencies of the hour. Our naval and military prestige, and our wonderful physical and material resources, are no doubt quite sufficient to cause any statesman, not under stress of some controlling necessity, to think twice before provoking us to war. But who can believe that in the midst of a desperate struggle any great naval Power would, for fear of retribution at some future day, imperil its existence by taking account of the rights of a neutral Power which was for the time being unable to maintain them? We do not need a maritime force as large as that of Great Britain, or even France; but our navy should always be so formidable that no Power could ever deem it wise, even for a moment, to offend against the right of our flag upon the seas.

Those were the words of Hilary A. Herbert, uttered while he was Secretary of the Navy in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration. There were those at that time who considered him an alarmist and a militarist. There are doubtless those to-day who thus esteem him. To such we commend the consideration that his words have been justified by the progress of affairs to a marvellous degree; so perfectly that his words could not have been more accurate if they had been uttered after, instead of a score of years before, the event. There is nothing that this war has made more unmistakably clear than that the methods of warfare are no more humane, and the rights of neutrals are no more secure, than they were a hundred years ago. Indeed, they are actually less so. A hundred years ago there was no practice

of sinking unarmed passenger ships without warning and without giving an opportunity for saving the women and children who might be aboard. A hundred years ago there was no such flagrant violation of neutral rights as that which Belgium has suffered.

Mr. Herbert's refusal to believe that a great Power would imperil its own existence for the sake of respecting the rights of others has been notably warranted, in a peculiarly direct and specific manner, by the German Government. It, or its chief official spokesman, has frankly admitted that the rape of Belgium was wrong; but has insisted that it was necessary under the law of self-preservation. We may or may not believe that such was the case. Most of us will certainly not believe it. But all the same the policy of the German Government stands confessed: that is, to disregard and violate the rights of neutrals whenever it seems necessary to do so for Germany's security. That is precisely what Mr. Herbert reminded us of, twenty years ago.

The trouble with those who refuse to listen or to credit such warnings is that they confuse rational preparedness for defence with aggressive militarism. The two things are in fact entirely distinct in character and in aim. It may be that militarist nations are prepared. It is quite certain that not all prepared nations are militarist, either in spirit or in practice. The most perfectly prepared nation in Europe, for self-defense, is Switzerland; and it is the least militarist. A similar state of preparation prevails in Australia and New Zealand; but it would provoke Homeric laughter to suggest that those great radical democracies are victims of oppressive militarism.

A current cartoon, much exploited by extreme pacifists, is entitled, "A Dangerous Pet." It represents in one part a playful, apparently harmless kitten, labelled "Preparedness," receiving the caresses of its mistress; and in another part it shows the same creature, now a full grown tiger, savagely rending the prostrate form of her who had cherished and caressed it; the brute being labelled, "Militarism." It is superficially striking. In fact and in essence, however, it is either grossly ignorant or a wanton perversion of the truth. The cartoonist, and those who agree with his view, ignore the radical difference between offense and defense, between aggression and protection. A nation with no standing army at all would be a menace to peace and would

deserve the reproach of militarism if its purpose were at the first opportunity to attack its neighbors and wage wars of conquest. A nation in which every man is a soldier and in which an enormous standing army is maintained, is not subject to the reproach of militarism and is not a menace to peace if the sole purpose of that preparedness is simply to defend itself against attack.

It is a shallow argument, too, and a most humiliating confession—rather, perhaps, a libellous aspersion—to say that we are not to be trusted with military training and equipment, because the possession of arms and the knowledge how to use them would tempt us to become militaristic, and to become an aggressive conquerer among the nations. That is equivalent to saying that no boy should undergo physical training in a gymnasium for the development of muscular agility and strength, but should remain a weakling lest the possession of strength should make him a swaggering bully and brawler. In the case of the individual, we give instruction, training and equipment, all capable of being perverted to evil uses; but we trust to the effects of moral instruction and training to incline him to use those gifts aright.

Surely it should be no less possible to cultivate in the nation as a whole a similar moral sentiment which would constrain it to employ its military efficiency aright and not to prostitute it to sordid or tyrannous purposes. We are not prepared to admit the United States to be in danger of becoming another Frankenstein; or even to deserve an appellation similar to that of the Indian chief, "Young Man Afraid of His Horses." We are not a nation afraid of our soldiers, afraid of our army and navy; and we shall not be. The military power is constitutionally subject to the civil, and will always be so. No matter how greatly our army and navy are expanded, they will still be insignificant in comparison with our industries and commerce. No matter how generally or how thoroughly our citizenry may become trained and accustomed to arms, they will always be dominated by the interests and pursuits of peace. No matter how much military instruction may be given in our schools and colleges, the instruction in the arts of peace will always immeasurably exceed it. In such circumstances it would be self-stultification to say that we could not keep preparedness as the potential servant of the peace-loving nation without letting it be-

come transformed into a militarism which would be our master and tyrant.

We believe it to be possible for a nation, as for a man, to be strong without being brutal, to be armed without being a brawler, to be prepared to defend its own rights without being irresistibly impelled to attack the rights of others.

THE HYPHEN MUST GO

It is high time for us to require that aliens coming hither to live shall become Americans. We are confronted with the development of faction based on alien interests, fomented and maintained by great masses of foreign-born or closely foreign-descended citizens, whose naturalization has been technical and legal but not spiritual and vital—in brief, the Hyphenates. They have come hither to live, to enjoy American opportunity, and to exercise American sovereignty; but they are not content to be known simply as Americans, and are not willing to become thoroughly Americanized. They wish to retain their former national designation, and to cherish and cultivate here their old-country ways and manners, and also their friendships and hatreds. Above all, they are actuated in their political action as American citizens by regard, not so much for American interests as for the welfare of the old country.

It is time, high time, to stop all that. It is time to insist that there shall be no dual citizenship and no divided allegiance. It is time for us to insist that the great mass of all that come hither shall become naturalized. At present there are hundreds of thousands who have not become citizens, and who apparently have no thought of so doing. Of some important nationalities among our immigrants less than fifty, or even forty, per cent. have become naturalized. We ought to be able to realize now how pernicious it is to have among us so considerable an element of persistent aliens, unassimilated and undigested. It has long been a reason for opposing Chinese immigration, that Chinese do not become citizens. But they do not become citizens because our laws forbid them to. On the other hand, we have here hundreds of thousands of aliens of other nationalities, who are legally eligible to citizenship, but who by their own choice refrain from naturalization. It is an evil which we should speedily correct by law. It would be quite legitimate

and doubtless effective to condition the number of immigrants admitted each year from each country upon the proportion of those already here who had become citizens.

There is, however, something more required than the formal taking of the oath of allegiance; even though it should include a specific renunciation of every vestige of the dual citizenship which has been too largely held. The alien should in some way be endowed not merely with citizenship papers, but with an American mind, American sympathies, American ideals, and with so large a degree of American detachment from Europe that European affairs would no longer have more than academic interest for him. That is asking much, but it is not asking too much. If America is worth coming to, it is worth paying for; even the price of complete renunciation of the old country.

At present there are in the United States numerous leagues, associations, societies and what not, with hyphenated names and devoted largely to the work of keeping alive and potent in the hearts of their members an affection for the old country and an interest in its welfare sufficiently strong to control their political action; so that they will vote for or against this or that, not because they are Americans but because they are aliens, and not because of American interests and welfare but because of the interests and welfare of the old country. There ought to be some method of preventing such a spectacle as we have witnessed in this country for months past, of numerous bodies of citizens denouncing the President and Government of the United States simply because they let their policy be directed solely by American interests and not by the interests of some foreign Power. American citizens must be Americans, pure and simple. The Hyphen must go.